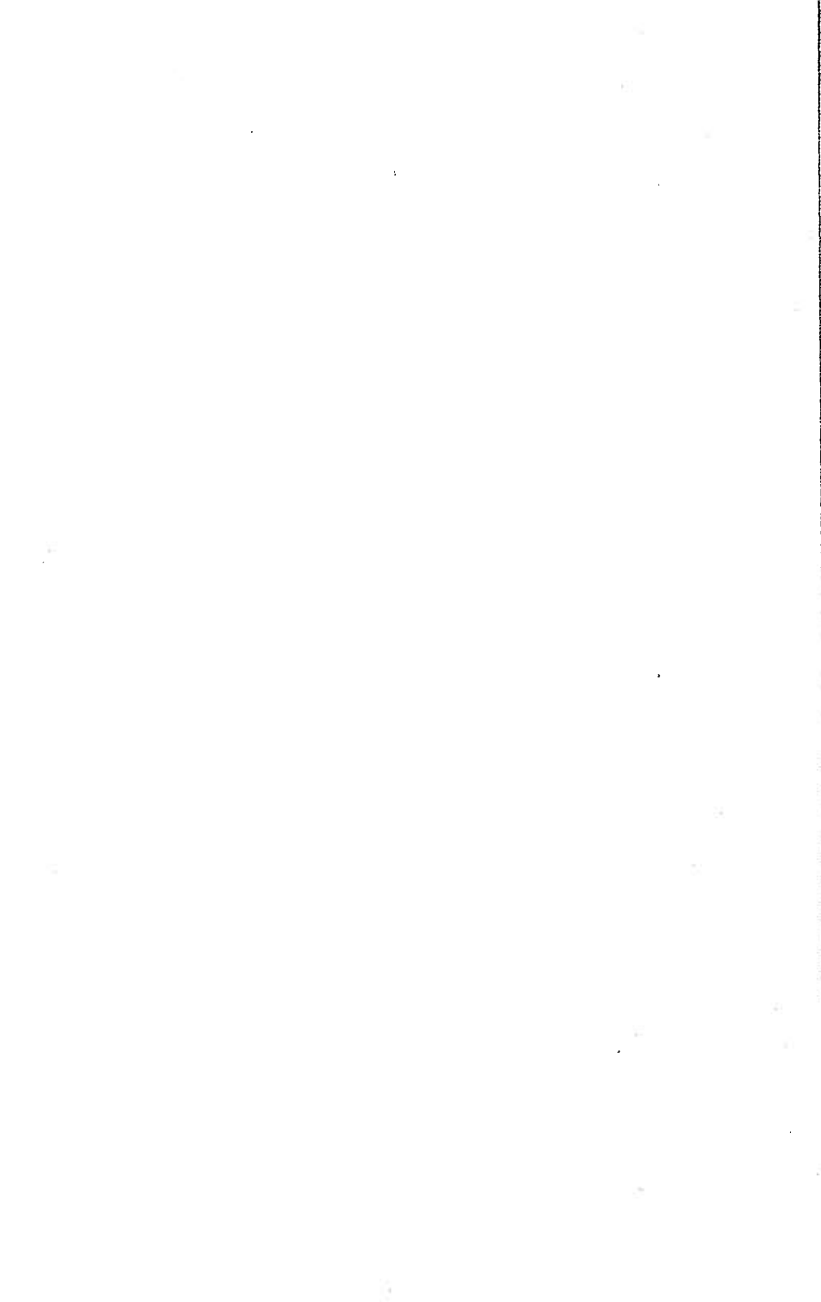


BS

3555

L78



150

Certain Alleged Gospel Sources

A STUDY OF Q, PROTO LUKE AND M

BY

W. LOCKTON, B.D.



**CERTAIN
ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES**

**A STUDY OF Q, PROTO-LUKE
AND M**

By the same Author

**The Resurrection and Other Gospel
Narratives and the Narratives of
the Virgin Birth**

Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

‘The book is a masterpiece of exegesis.’
The Guardian.

The Three Traditions in the Gospels

Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

‘A book of extraordinary originality and
of real learning.’
The Church Quarterly Review.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. LTD.

LONDON
CALCUTTA

NEW YORK
BOMBAY

TORONTO
MADRAS

CERTAIN ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

A STUDY OF Q, PROTO-LUKE AND M

BY

W. LOCKTON, B.D.

**VICE-PRINCIPAL OF WINCHESTER DIOCESAN
TRAINING COLLEGE**

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. LTD.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C. 4

NEW YORK, TORONTO

CALCUTTA, BOMBAY AND MADRAS

1927

BS3555

L78

Made in Great Britain

PREFACE

THE following essay is written in response to various requests. Of the writer's work, 'The Three Traditions in the Gospels,' there have been three chief criticisms—that for greater convenience of comparison corresponding texts should have been set out in parallel columns; that the author should have dealt directly with the contentions of others, and particularly with the Q-Proto-Luke-M hypothesis; and that evidence of the existence of the three traditions should have been drawn from the earlier as well as the later sections of the gospels. The first, on the scale of the former essay, was in the writer's opinion for various reasons impracticable, but an attempt has been made to meet the criticism so far as is possible in the present booklet. The second would have required a volume at least the size of the largest of the many setting forth other hypotheses, and would have resulted in a very undesirable type of book. It is hoped

that the present essay will satisfy all reasonable demands in that direction. The third criticism was not really valid, for though the illustrations of the hypothesis for the most part were taken from the later portions of the gospels, this was only because the earlier evidence had already been utilised in provisionally establishing the hypothesis afterwards illustrated. The present little book, of course, is to be regarded as in no way complete in itself, and for further information readers are referred to 'The Three Traditions in the Gospels.'

The three traditions hypothesis of the origin of the gospels is gradually gaining adherents, and is seen to provide the only explanation of many thousands of points in the gospels which no form of the Mark-Q hypothesis touches. Unfortunately, however, few people read a book sufficiently carefully to grasp fully the significance of an argument, and even of those commonly regarded as experts the majority are content to take the arguments and conclusions of others, if of sufficient authority, at second hand, without realising what is left unexplained and without troubling to find out what is to be said on the other side. At last, however, some are beginning to realise

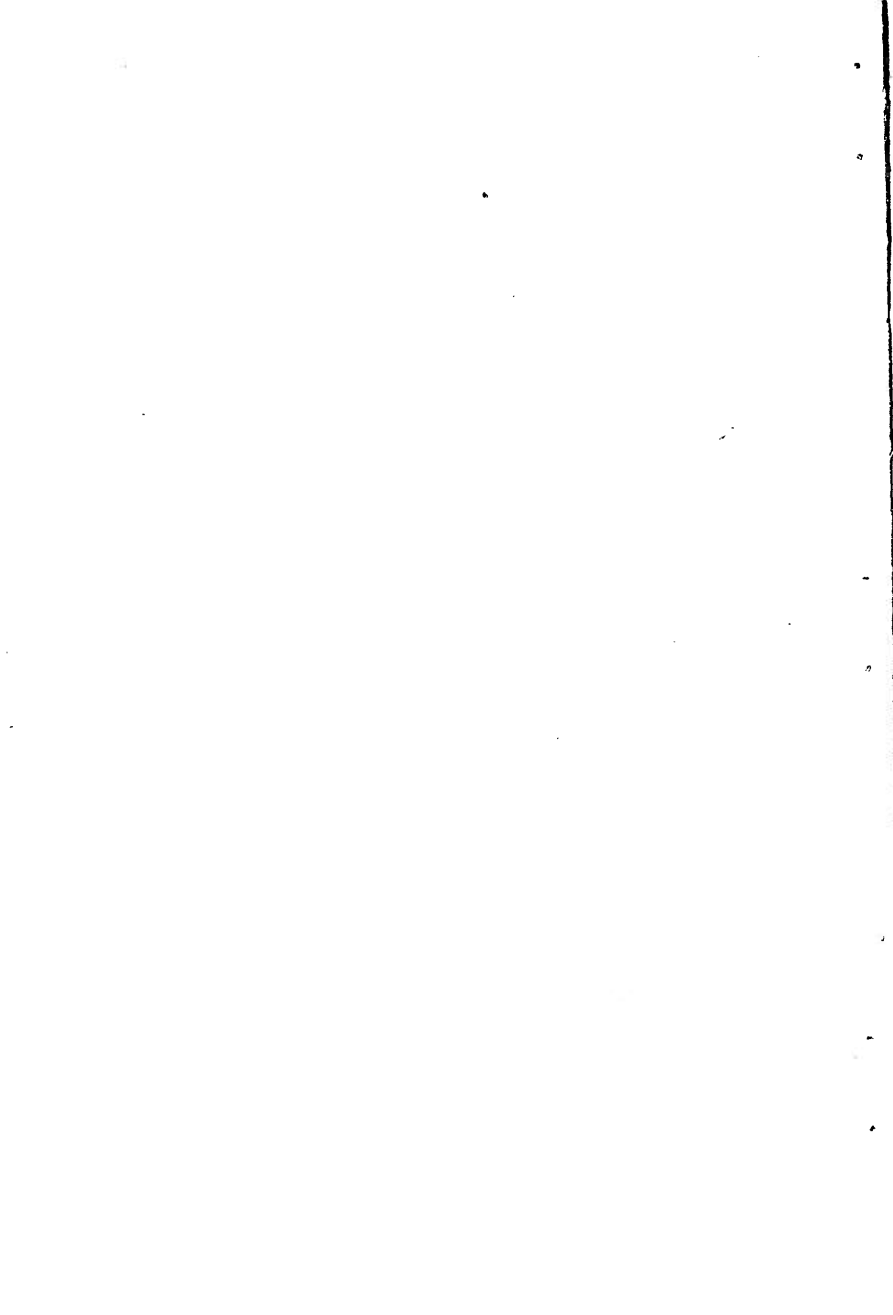
that it is not necessary in a critical study of the gospels to take as axioms presuppositions which had their origin in German scepticism, or to assume that the teaching ascribed to our Lord in the Fourth Gospel is a later development, but rather that it is of primary authority and essentially primitive, whereas what we find in the Second Gospel is often at best only secondary, and in many places shews a partial reversion to Judaism.

The writer wishes to express his thanks to the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge for permission kindly given to quote from the Revised Version of the Bible where suitable, and he accepts entire responsibility for all deviations from it. He also desires to thank Dr. Streeter and Messrs. Macmillan and Co. Ltd. for kindly allowing him to make quotations from 'The Four Gospels,' and Dr. Vincent Taylor and the Delegates of the Oxford University Press for like permission with regard to 'Behind the Third Gospel.'

W. LOCKTON.

DIOCESAN TRAINING COLLEGE, WINCHESTER.

August 30, 1927.



CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE PROTO-LUKE HYPOTHESIS . . .	1
II. MARK AND THE TWO TRADITIONS IN LUKE	5
III. MARK'S ACCOUNT OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARIST	18
IV. MARK AND THE JOHANNINE TRADITION	24
V. THE INFLUENCE OF THE OLD TESTA- MENT ON MARK	36
VI. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITIONS	39
VII. AGREEMENT OF MATTHEW AND LUKE AGAINST MARK	49
VIII. THE SUPPOSED SOURCE M . . .	57
IX. THE THREE TRADITIONS HYPOTHESIS	70

Πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατεχετε.

CERTAIN ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

CHAPTER I

THE PROTO-LUKE HYPOTHESIS

FEW books can have been received with so universal a chorus of approval as 'The Four Gospels' of Dr. Streeter.¹ So far as the Synoptic Problem is concerned it is a continuation of the line of argument first put forward in an article in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1921. The learning and industry which it represents are alike immense, and it has been acclaimed on all sides by scholars of repute as marking a new epoch in the study of the gospels, and particularly of the Synoptic Problem. The book is specially remarkable as breaking in one small particular with the dominant two-document hypothesis, for he argues that in its initial stages Luke had nothing to do with Mark, but began in

¹ Macmillan and Co., 1924.

2 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

a combination of the source Q with other matter L to form what he calls Proto-Luke, sections from Mark being incorporated later. So important did this hypothesis of a Proto-Luke appear to Dr. Taylor when put forward in the *Hibbert Journal* that he has spent three and a half years, he tells us, in a detailed investigation of the theory, publishing the result in his book 'Behind the Third Gospel.'¹ In *Theology* for March 1927, what is thought to be 'The First Draft of St. Luke's Gospel' is set out at length, and it has been reprinted as a pamphlet by S.P.C.K.

The present writer has given the most careful consideration to all the arguments in these different publications, but in spite of the adhesion of so many eminent scholars to the theory, he has to confess that he finds the evidence brought forward quite unconvincing, and he sees no sufficient reason to suppose that such a document as Proto-Luke ever existed, while the facts which tell against it appear to be overwhelming and to point to a quite different conclusion. Dr. Taylor's industry, like Dr. Streeter's, is immense and cannot be too highly commended, but both scholars apparently are quite oblivious of

¹ Clarendon Press, 1926.

many of the difficulties of the hypothesis, and until they are dealt with and satisfactorily answered any idea of considering the theory established is out of the question. Indeed neither Dr. Streeter nor Dr. Taylor makes any real attempt to supply a proof of the hypothesis by dealing with alternative explanations of the phenomena, but each is content to regard as sufficient in the way of proof the fact that the evidence on inquiry is found not to be entirely contradictory, though various difficulties are candidly admitted and left unexplained. Dr. Taylor has two chief lines of argument, one being a computation of the number of words, or parts of words, which Luke has in common with Mark, the other the supposition that if certain verses, or clauses, of Luke are omitted the run of the narrative and the general sense are improved, or at any rate not seriously marred. The first line of argument, however, is in no way conclusive as to the dependence of Luke on Mark, however high the percentage of words in the former found in the latter, for the statistics, if slightly modified so as to shew the percentage of Lukan words in Mark, are equally convincing in favour of the dependence of Mark on Luke. The second line of argument is

also quite inconclusive, for the omission of verses according to various hypotheses may leave a text by no means inferior, or even, it might be argued, superior to the original, though indeed the suggested text of Proto-Luke seems in some places no better than a collection of unrelated fragments, which it is difficult to believe can have formed the complete text of a source. There are, however, large masses of evidence of different types, of which neither Dr. Streeter nor Dr. Taylor takes any account, which, far from being inconclusive, tell quite strongly and conclusively, in the opinion of the present writer, not only against the existence of such a document as Proto-Luke but also against any possible priority of Mark to Luke. Some of this evidence, though only a very small portion of it, will be discussed in the present essay.

CHAPTER II

MARK AND THE TWO TRADITIONS IN LUKE

FIRST of all, it will be useful to deal with the more general question of the priority of Mark, which in a measure both Dr. Streeter and Dr. Taylor assume, though of course this is a hypothesis by no means peculiar to their method of solving the Synoptic Problem, but is common to the majority of scholars dealing with the question. We will begin with a consideration of some of the many places where the text of Mark can be adequately explained only as a conflation of various passages in Luke. The first chapter of Mark provides us with an example. We will set out the three texts in parallel columns.

MARK I.

2. Even as it is
written
in

Isaiah the pro-
phet,

LUKE III.

4. As it is writ-
ten
in the book of the
words of
Isaiah the pro-
phet,

LUKE VII.

27. This is he
of whom it is
written,

6 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

MARK I.

Behold, I send my
messenger before
thy face,
Who shall prepare
thy way ;

3. The voice of
one crying in the
wilderness,
Make ye ready the
way of the Lord,
Make his paths
straight.

LUKE III.

The voice of one
crying in the
wilderness,
Make ye ready the
way of the Lord,
Make his paths
straight.

LUKE VII.

Behold, I send my
messenger before
thy face,
Who shall prepare
thy way before
thee.

Apart from a presupposition of the priority of Mark it is surely impossible for anyone to regard Mark as other than a combination of what we find in the two passages of Luke, and a conflation of two similar prophecies. The inaccuracy of attributing a prophecy of Malachi (iii. 1) to Isaiah is thus easily and quite adequately explained. The modification of the prophecy found in Luke, really a conflation with the promise to the children of Israel, 'And, behold, I send my messenger before thy face' (Ex. xxiii. 20), which is more obvious in the Greek than in the ordinary English version, is necessary for our Lord's argument in His testimony concerning John the Baptist, but is difficult to explain in Mark apart from a literary connexion between the

passages, in which case it is impossible to suppose Mark the original. Dr. Streeter,¹ followed by Dr. Taylor,² assigns both passages of Luke to Q, and so is obliged to regard Mark as independent, a view which is surely impossible. Certainly no one could argue that the two quotations in Luke, each so suitable in its context, are in any way derived from what we find in Mark, though the converse is a quite natural and sufficient explanation of the facts. An appeal sometimes made to an earlier collection of Old Testament testimonies might perhaps explain the passage in Mark if it stood alone, but is useless as an explanation of the prophecies as found in the two passages of Luke, while their relation to the passage in Mark cries out for explanation. Yet Dr. Streeter and Dr. Taylor have no suggestion to offer, save that Mark and Q overlap, which is quite insufficient.

Another illustration may be found in the accounts of the choice of the apostles.

MARK III.

LUKE VI.

LUKE IX.³

12. And it came
to pass in these
days,

¹ pp. 205-6, 197.

² pp. 76-7, 150.

³ The numbers in brackets in this column and elsewhere shew the order of the text in the gospel or other book.

8 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

MARK III.

13. And he goeth up into the mountain,

and

calleth unto him whom he himself would :
and they went unto him.

14. And he appointed twelve, (whom also he named apostles,) that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach,

15. and to have authority to cast out devils.

LUKE VI.

that he went out into the mountain to pray ;
and he continued all night in prayer to God.

13. And when it was day, he called his disciples :

and he chose from them twelve, whom also he named apostles ;

LUKE IX.

1. (1) And

he called the twelve together,

[. . . twelve . . .]

2. (3) And he sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God,

(2) and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases.

(4) and to heal the sick.

The text of Mark can hardly be explained as other than a conflation of the two sections of Luke and the assimilation of similar passages, though referring to different incidents. Yet we note he gives also a parallel to the second passage of Luke in the proper context : ' And he called unto him the

twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two; and he gave them authority over the unclean spirits' (vi. 7). It is easy to imagine the Markan passages derived from what we find in Luke, but the reverse is quite impossible. Following Dr. Streeter,¹ Dr. Taylor says: 'In the case of No. 22 (The Charge to the Twelve), we have indications of the knowledge of a source other than Mark, for there are several interesting parallels between this section and Luke x. 1-12 (The Address to the Seventy) which is drawn from Q. Substantially, however, St. Luke's source in No. 22 is Mark, and Mark only; the Q element amounts to no more than a few words and phrases carried over by the memory.'² The similarity of Luke ix. 1-2 to Mark iii. 13-15 is not noticed, so that the conflation of Luke vi. 12-13 and ix. 1-2, which appears in Mark iii. 13-15, is left unexplained. Yet the fact of this conflation was recognised by the writer of the First Gospel, who, though combining Mark vi. 7-11 (= Luke ix. 1-5) with Luke x. 1-11, yet inserts the enlarged text in Mark's earlier context, iii. 13-19, and makes it (x. 1-14) a continuation and expansion of Mark's smaller conflation. Dr. Streeter,

¹ p. 248.² p. 87.

10 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

however, as well as Dr. Taylor, seems to be quite oblivious of all this and attempts no explanation.

A particularly interesting example of the combination of different traditions is to be found in the sayings which follow the explanation of the parable of the sower. Dr. Streeter says that Mark and Q are here parallel, and Dr. Taylor agrees. It will be illuminating to set them out in parallel columns.

MARK IV.	LUKE VIII.	LUKE.
20. And those are they that were sown upon the good ground ; such as	15. And that in the good ground, these are such as in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, hold it fast, and bring forth fruit with pa- tience.	
hear the word, and accept it, and bear fruit, thirtyfold, and sixtyfold, and a hundredfold.		
21. And he said unto them, Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel,	16. And no man, when he hath lighted a lamp, covereth it with a vessel,	XI. 33. No man, when he hath lighted a lamp, putteth it in a cellar,
or under the bed, and not to be put on the stand ?	or putteth it under a bed ; but putteth it on a stand,	neither under the bushel, but on the stand,

ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES 11

MARK IV.

22. For there is nothing hid,

save that it should be manifested ; neither was anything made secret, but that it should come to light.

23. If any man hath ears to hear, let him hear.

24. And he saith unto them, Take heed what ye hear :

with what measure ye mete

it shall be measured unto you :

and more shall be given unto you.

25. For he that hath, to him shall be given : and he that hath not, from him shall be taken away even that which he hath.

LUKE VIII.

that they which enter in may see the light.

17. For nothing is hid,

that shall not be made manifest ; nor anything secret, that shall not be known and come to light.

18. Take heed therefore how ye hear :

for whosoever hath, to him shall be given ; and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that which he thinketh he hath.

LUKE.

that they which enter in may see the light.

XII. 2. But there is nothing covered up, that shall not be revealed : and hid,

that shall not be known.

XIV. 35. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

VI. 38. For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.

XII. 31. And these things shall be added unto you.

XIX. 26. I say unto you, that unto every one that hath shall be given ; but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him.

12 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

Can it seriously be denied that the sayings of Mark iv. 21–25 are a combination of those of Luke viii. 16–18 with others found elsewhere in the Third Gospel? Dr. Taylor says: ‘As regards No. 17 (Short Sayings), we have evidence that a knowledge of these sayings in their Q form has affected St. Luke’s use of Mark here. For doublets of these sayings occur in other parts of Luke (xi. 33, xii. 2, xiv. 35*b*), where they are clearly derived from Q, and by comparison we can see that the use of each source (Mark and Q) has been influenced by recollection of the other.’¹ This is surely in no way a sufficient explanation of the phenomena presented by the parallel columns. If it be supposed that Luke had before him these sayings in both Mark and Q in parallel texts, as Dr. Streeter also suggests,² why does he omit three and no more in the present context, repeating the others, though he gives these also elsewhere? Mark iv. 21, with the references to the ‘bushel,’ the ‘bed’ and the ‘stand,’ is adequately explained if the verse be regarded as a conflation of the two traditions of the sayings which appear in Luke viii. 16 and xi. 33, and Mark iv. 25, with ‘which he hath’ as a conflation of Luke viii. 18 and xix. 26,

¹ p. 86.

² p. 306.

the latter having 'which he hath,' though the former has 'which he thinketh he hath.' If Luke viii. 16-18 be regarded as based on Mark iv. 21-25, these facts are without explanation. Even if with Dr. Taylor we allow that the use of each source (Mark and Q) has been influenced by recollections of the other, it is very difficult to understand why of two versions of sayings in Luke it should be that which we find in the non-Markan context which in some ways agrees more closely with Mark. The only adequate explanation of the facts is that in Luke viii. 16-18 we have an agglomeration of sayings drawn from two distinct lines of tradition, and that in Mark iv. 21-25 we have a later stage of the process, further sayings being introduced and the two traditions of certain sayings to some extent conflated. A favourite criterion of Dr. Taylor is to ask 'in what relation a suspected passage stands to its context. Does it break the order of thought?'¹ Though a very precarious form of argument, to say the least, as he employs it in support of Proto-Luke, it is very cogently employed in the present instance. If we omit the doublet verses from Luke viii. 11-18, the result is very illuminating. 'Now the parable

¹ p. 31.

14 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

is this : The seed is the word of God. And those by the wayside are they that have heard ; then cometh the devil, and taketh away the word from their heart, that they may not believe and be saved. And those on the rock are they which, when they have heard, receive the word with joy ; and these have no root, which for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away. And that which fell among the thorns, these are they that have heard, and as they go on their way they are choked with cares and riches and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection. And that in the good ground, these are such as in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, hold it fast, and bring forth fruit with patience. Take heed therefore how ye hear.'

Our Lord's interpretation of the parable of the sower is a description of how men hear, and no words could form a more fitting conclusion than the warning, 'Take heed therefore how ye hear.' The change to 'Take heed what ye hear,' in Mark, quite loses the point, and affords further evidence of the secondary character of this gospel.

Illustrations of the composite character of Mark might be multiplied almost indefinitely. Perhaps one more example shewing the

combination of distinct traditions, a section of the apocalyptical discourse, will suffice.

MARK XIII.

14. Then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains :

15. and let him that is on the housetop not go down,

nor enter in,

to take anything out of his house :

16. and let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke.

LUKE XXI.

21. Then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains ;

and let them that are in the midst of her

depart out ;

and let not them that are in the country enter therein.

LUKE XVII.

31. (1) In that day,

he which shall be on the housetop,

(3) let him not go down

(2) and his goods in the house,

(4) to take them away :

and let him that is in the field likewise not return back.

It cannot well be denied that Mark is a conflation of the two traditions recorded in Luke. Dr. Taylor gives a note on the passage: 'Luke xxi. 21a (= Mark xiii. 14b): "Then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains." This passage is taken verbatim from Mark, where it appears in a natural and intelligible relation to its context. It there follows [precedes ?] the reference to the man on his housetop who is not to descend for the purpose of entering his house in order

to remove his goods, and to the man in the field who is not to turn back to secure his cloak. Can we say as much of the relationships of the passage as it appears in Luke? Here it is preceded by a reference to the military investment of Jerusalem, and is followed by words which have no parallel in Mark: "and let them that are in the midst of her depart out; and let not them that are in the country enter therein." The words "her" and "therein" ['into her'] clearly refer to the city, and it is obvious that, with the omission of xxi. 21a, we obtain a very much improved connexion of thought. Omitting this verse, we have, immediately after the reference to the plight of the city, a passage which speaks of two classes of people, those within Jerusalem and those without. We lose the not very relevant reference to Judaea, and at once bring "her" and "into her" into close connexion with the noun ("Jerusalem") to which they refer.¹

This is an interesting comment, but it entirely ignores the evidence of the parallel columns, and affords no explanation of the mosaic character of Mark. Dr. Streeter says that Matthew has ingeniously fitted into the Little Apocalypse of Mark xiii. various sayings which occur in the discourse Luke xvii.

¹ p. 110. The Greek is omitted or translated.

22-37, which he assigns to Q, so as to amplify certain ideas taken over from Mark, 'for if Q had contained an Apocalypse, Matthew would certainly have conflated it with the Apocalypse of Mark.'¹ He is silent about the fact that the passage of Mark, which we have examined, likewise cleverly fits together two different passages from the two apocalypses in Luke, and here he does not bring in the hypothesis that Mark and Q have parallel but independent versions of certain sayings. It is not improbably true that Luke xxi. 21a, as Dr. Taylor suggests, is not an original part of the discourse, but its source is to be found not in Mark but in the story of the Maccabees, which has contributed quite a number of details to the different versions of the eschatological discourse. Mattathias and his sons, 'men of Judah,' 'fled unto the mountains, and forsook all that they had in the city' (1 Mac. ii. 18, 28). The version of the discourse in Luke xxi., though less developed than that of Mark xiii., is by no means without accretion. Its later development through Mark xiii. to Matthew xxiv. is easy to trace out, so that the view of Dr. Streeter and Dr. Taylor that Mark gives the most authentic text is quite impossible.

¹ p. 287.

CHAPTER III

MARK'S ACCOUNT OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARIST

AN example of a different kind of conflation, not the combination of two different lines of tradition, but the compression of one, is to be found in Mark's account of the institution of the eucharist. We must put into parallel columns the text of Mark, the longer text in Luke, and that of St. Paul.

MARK XIV.	LUKE XXII.	1 COR. XI.
22. And as they were eating, he took bread,	19. And he took bread,	23. The Lord Jesus . . . took bread ;
and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye : this is my body.	and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, [Take this,] This is my body which is given for you : this do in remem- brance of me.	24. and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you : this do in remem- brance of me.

ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES 19

MARK XIV.

23. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them : and they all drank of it.

24. And

he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant,

which is shed for many.

25. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine,

until that day when I drink it new

in the kingdom of God.

LUKE XXII.

17. And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves :

20. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you.

[this do in remembrance of me.]

18. for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until

[. . . new . . .]

the kingdom of God shall come.

1 COR. XI.

25. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood :

this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

LUKE XXII

30. That ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom.

It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the description of the cup in Mark is a combination of what we are told of the two cups in Luke, 'he said, Take' being transferred from the first cup in Luke to the

20 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

bread in Mark ; ' he gave to them,' used in Luke only of the bread, being in consequence repeated in Mark in the composite description of the cup. St. Paul's account is seen to be a curtailed version of that given in Luke. By Dr. Taylor the evidence of the parallel columns is entirely ignored, and assuming the priority of Mark he sees in Luke's description of the supper Proto-Luke with slight insertions from Mark. He says : ' The non-Markan source included verses 14-18, and was followed immediately by verse 21. As such, its account of the Supper, while coherent and impressive, was obviously incomplete. Hence it is that to xxii. 14-18 St. Luke has added from Mark the saying regarding the Bread in 19*a*. In so doing, he has deliberately sacrificed the literary completeness of his earlier version, making art subservient to truth as he conceived it to be. Why he did not continue to add the Markan description of the Cup, and the saying regarding the fruit of the vine in Mark xiv. 25, is clear. Luke xxii. 14-18 already contained parallels to these matters, although, it is true, the words, " Take this, and divide it among yourselves," lack the pregnant saying, " This is my blood." The principal deficiency of xxii. 14-18 was its

ambiguous reference to the eating of bread, and this is supplied from Mark by the Evangelist in verse 19*a*. The interpolation in xxii. 19*b*–20 represents a further stage which St. Luke himself did not take. Here the saying, "This is my blood," is expanded under the influence of 1 Cor. xi. 24 f., and the saying regarding the Cup is taken from the same passage, with the result that in the T.R. of Luke xxii. 14–20 we get a curious amalgam in which two cups are mentioned and two very different accounts of the Supper stand side by side.¹

To the present writer the statement provides a complex and highly improbable solution of the problem presented by the different texts, so many of the difficulties which demand elucidation being ignored. The exigencies of his hypothesis compel Dr. Taylor to regard Luke's words about the bread as taken from Mark, but those about the second cup in the longer text from St. Paul. Yet Luke's account of the bread agrees as closely with St. Paul's as the account of the second cup, and much more closely than with Mark's. It is highly artificial to postulate a different origin for the descriptions of the bread and the second

¹ p. 39.

22 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

cup in Luke when both are almost verbally identical with the words of St. Paul. Yet it is inconceivable that the two narratives are derived from St. Paul. The only possible explanation is that St. Paul is quoting the tradition recorded more fully by Luke, and that he omits all reference to the first cup. Mark, on the other hand, reduces the cups to one by a conflation of the narrative, particularly of the words describing the two cups in Luke, transferring the command to 'take' used in Luke of the first cup to the bread. On this hypothesis all difficulties presented by the different accounts completely disappear. We notice a further conflation in the Markan narrative, 'Until the kingdom of God shall come' and 'that ye may . . . drink . . . in my kingdom' being combined to form 'until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God,' the adjective 'new' being transferred from the covenant to the wine of the covenanted kingdom. The phrase 'new covenant' from Jeremiah (xxxviii. (xxxi.) 31) disappears through the assimilation of the words used of the cup to those said by Moses at the covenant sacrifice: 'Behold the blood of the covenant' (Ex. xxiv. 8). Mark's rearrangement of his Lukan material has a very

awkward result in the description of that which has just very solemnly been declared to be 'the blood of the covenant' as being still only 'the fruit of the vine.' We notice, too, in Mark's composite text the materialistic idea of the actual drinking of the fruit of the vine in the kingdom of God which is absent from both the sayings of Luke conflated in Mark. The difficulties of the Markan text completely disappear when we grasp its origin, that it is a rearrangement and conflation of the longer text of Luke, which must therefore be more authentic than the shorter text, given in D and other manuscripts, which ends the narrative of institution with the words, 'This is my body.' The command to repeat the eucharist, 'This do in remembrance of me,' is thus an original element of the gospel, and consequently, we may believe, a true saying of Jesus.

CHAPTER IV

MARK AND THE JOHANNINE TRADITION

THAT various passages of Mark are to be explained as conflations of several passages of Luke cannot easily be denied. Sometimes, however, we have a combination of the narratives of Luke and John. A comparison of the accounts of the song of the people at the triumphal entry into Jerusalem will be useful.

MARK XI.

9. And they ...
cried,

Hosanna :
Blessed is he that
cometh
in the name of the
Lord :

10. Blessed is
the kingdom of
our father David
that cometh :
Hosanna

in the highest.

LUKE XIX.

38. (1) Saying,

(3) in the name of
the Lord :

(2) Blessed is the
King that cometh

(4) peace in
heaven, and glory
in the highest.

JOHN XII.

13. And they
cried out,

Hosanna :
Blessed is he that
cometh
in the name of the
Lord,
even the King of
Israel.

[Hosanna]

Mark is evidently a conflation of Luke and John. Dr. Taylor says: 'When we remember that even independent accounts of these words might be expected to have a good deal in common it becomes impossible to think that here Mark is St. Luke's source.'¹ The parallel columns, however, make it plain that the tradition recorded in Luke is one of the sources of Mark, while that of John is another. The expression 'Hosanna in the highest' is a well-known crux, and we are told it could not have been uttered by a Jewish crowd, or even written by a Hebraist. As a conflation of the two versions of the people's cry given in Luke and John it is easily and adequately explained.

Another incident of special value for comparison in parallel columns is that of the cleansing of the temple.

MARK XI.	LUKE XIX.	JOHN II.
15. And they come to Jerusalem:	28. And . . . he went on before, going up to Jerusalem.	13. And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.
and he entered into the temple,	45. And he entered into the temple,	14. (1) And he found in the temple 15. (3) and he made a scourge of cords,

¹ p. 95.

26 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

MARK XI.

and began to cast
out
them that sold

and them that
bought
in the temple,

and overthrew the
tables of the
money-changers,

and the seats of
them that sold the
doves ;

16. and he
would not suffer
that any man
should carry a
vessel through the
temple.

17. And he
taught,
and said unto
them,
Is it not written,
My house shall be
called a house of
prayer for all the
nations ? but ye
have made it a
den of robbers.

LUKE XIX.

and began to cast
out
them that sold,

(2) in the temple.

[Jos., *C. Api.*
II. 8 : And it is
not lawful to carry
any vessel into the
temple.]

47. (1) And he
was teaching daily

46. saying unto
them,

It is written, And
my house shall be
a house of prayer :
but ye have made
it a den of robbers.

JOHN II.

and cast all out

(2) those that sold
oxen and sheep
and doves,
and the changers
of money sitting :
(4) of the temple,
both the sheep
and the oxen ;
and he poured out
the changers'
money, and over-
threw their tables ;

16. and to them
that sold the
doves

(6) Take these
things hence ;

(5) he said,

(7) make not my
Father's house a
house of mer-
chandise.

The parallel columns surely make it plain
that Mark must be regarded as an editorial
combination of the accounts of Luke and
John. As not infrequently elsewhere, par-

ticularly in the account of the trial before the high priest, Mark completes the picture by utilising the traditions of the rabbis. Josephus preserves a rule almost verbally identical with Mark's interpolation, and similar words are not uncommon in the Talmud.¹ It is curious to note how Mark disperses the words 'And he was teaching daily in the temple,' a common Lukan statement (xx. 1, xxi. 37, Acts v. 21, 42). The words 'And he taught' are not a very suitable introduction to the rebuke of the traders which follows. 'In the temple' is utilised instead of 'of the temple' found in John. Dr. Taylor says: 'It is beyond question that St. Luke has derived his abbreviated account of the *Cleansing* from Mark. If we divide the Markan story into three parts, we see that he has taken over the first and third and has omitted the second. He gives, that is to say, the beginning and the end of St. Mark's narrative, omitting the rest as unnecessary for his purpose.'² With the parallel columns in view this is quite insufficient as an explanation, for the composite origin of Mark is beyond dispute.

¹ See *The Three Traditions in the Gospels*, pp. 104-5.

² pp. 95-6.

28 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

The accounts of our Lord's prediction of His betrayal are particularly illuminating when set out in parallel columns.

MARK XIV.

16. And they made ready the passover.

17. And when it was evening he cometh with the twelve.

18. And as they sat and were eating,

Jesus said,

Verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me,

even he that eateth with me.

19. They began to be sorrowful,

and to say unto him one by one, Is it I?

LUKE XXII.

13. (1) And they made ready the passover.

14. And when the hour was come,

(3) and the apostles with him.

(2) he sat down,

(5) With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you . . .

[15. And he said unto them,]

[21. . . . the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me]

[Ps. xl. (xli.) 9. . . . even he that eateth my bread]

23. (7) And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.

JOHN XIII.

1. Now before the feast of the passover,

Jesus knowing that his hour was come . . .

5. . . . the disciples . . .

12. . . . And he sat down again.

2. . . . during supper . . .

21. . . . Jesus . . . said,

Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.

[2. . . . during supper . . .]

22. The disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake.

25. He . . . saith unto him, Lord, who is it?

ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES 29

MARK XIV.

20. And he said unto them,
It is one of the twelve,

he that dippeth with me in the dish.

21. For the Son of man goeth, even as it is written of him: but woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he had not been born.

LUKE XXII.

15. (4) And he said unto them,
[47. . . . Judas, one of the twelve]

21. (6) But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table.

22. For the Son of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined: but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed!

JOHN XIII.

26. Jesus therefore answereth,
[xx. 24. . . . Thomas, one of the twelve]
He it is, for whom I shall dip the sop, and give it him.

[Ps. xl. (xli.) 9.]

[Enoch xxxviii.
2. It had been good for them if they had not been born.]

Again our conclusion must be that Mark is a combination of what we find in Luke and John. Certain sections are identical in Mark and Luke, but the prophecy of the betrayal is identical in Mark and John, other details also shewing a similar connexion. 'As they . . . were eating' in Mark is perhaps an attempt to express 'during supper' of John in phraseology suggested by 'I have desired to eat this passover'

30 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

of Luke. 'He that dippeth with me in the dish' in Mark is a conflation of the corresponding sayings in Luke and John, 'with me' being derived from the former and the reference to dipping from the latter. As in the account of the cleansing of the temple, Mark draws upon scripture and tradition to amplify the story, this time from the book of Enoch, though similar sayings are to be found in the Talmud.¹ If Luke is an edited version of Mark in any degree, how are we to explain the fact that so often the passages which have parallels in the Fourth Gospel or Jewish writings are those chosen for omission? Of the prediction of the betrayal Dr. Taylor says: 'The Markan origin of Luke xxii. 22 is hardly open to question, but can we view this verse as an insertion into the passage Luke xxii. 21, 23: "But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing"? The language of these verses has practically nothing in common with Mark, and, as we see, the connexion between the two verses is an excellent one. It should be noted that even in Mark the description of the effect

¹ See *The Three Traditions in the Gospels*, pp. 147-8.

upon the disciples of Christ's words regarding treachery follows immediately on His declaration, "One of you shall betray me," while the saying regarding the fate of the traitor comes later. Apparently St. Luke has separated verses 21 and 23 in order to bring together Christ's words regarding the traitor, and there is much to be said for the view that verse 22 represents a second and Markan stratum in an otherwise independent narrative.¹ As in other cases, most of the details of the parallel narratives which cry out for explanation are ignored. Recognition of the conflation of Luke and John fully explains the difference of order in Mark and Luke. It is not that Luke has made a Markan insertion in an independent narrative, but that Mark, quoting the saying about the traitor from the Johannine tradition, rather than from that found in Luke, prefers to give the result of the saying immediately, as in John.

An incident on which both Dr. Streeter and Dr. Taylor lay stress is the mocking in the high priest's palace. The latter says: 'In this incident Luke has only six (or four) words out of twenty-seven in common with Mark, but this is perhaps the least reason

¹ pp. 40-1.

32 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

for asserting the independence of the Lukan narrative. St. Mark's story is closely connected with the account of the Trial ; indeed, in Mark the men who insult Jesus are present in the court, and are expressly distinguished from the " officers " who " received him with blows." In Luke the Mocking precedes the Trial and probably follows hard on the removal from the Garden to the high priest's house, while those who mock Jesus are " the men that held him," presumably those who had effected the arrest. St. Luke, moreover, has no reference to spitting, and speaks of beating rather than buffeting. If, as Streeter contends, the original Markan text lacked the words " and to cover his face," the reference to blindfolding is peculiar to Luke, with the result that the two versions are entirely different. " In Mark the mockers spit on His face and slap Him and cry, ' Play the prophet now ! ' In Luke they veil His eyes and then, striking Him, say, ' Use your prophetic gift of second sight to tell the striker's name.' Each version paints a consistent picture . . . " (*The Four Gospels*, p. 327). The closing sentence (" And many other things spake they against him, reviling him ") has no parallel in Mark. In this story, if anywhere, St. Luke is following a

tradition which owes nothing whatever to St. Mark.'¹

An examination of the narrative with the help of parallel columns will shew how little reliable this reconstruction is.

MARK XIV.

65. And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to buffet him,

and to say unto him,
Prophesy :

LUKE XXII.

63. (1) And the men that held him mocked him,

64. (3) And they covered him, (2) and beat him.

(4) and asked him, saying,
Prophesy :
Who is he that struck thee ?

ISAIAH L.

(5) from the shame of spitting.

(4) And I turned not away my face (2) and my cheeks [to blows]

JOHN XVIII.

and the officers received him

22. And . . . one of the officers standing by gave Jesus

with blows of rods.

a blow of a rod.

6. (1) I gave my back to scourges,

(3) to blows of rods.

Mark, it is seen, is a combination of Luke and John, modified under the influence of Isaiah. The references to spitting and the face are from Isaiah. 'To buffet,' to slap on the cheek or to box on the ear, has taken the place of 'beat' through the same influence, 'and my cheeks to blows.' The

¹ pp. 49-50.

reference to 'the officers' is from John, whence also came the thought of the blows of rods, though the plural is apparently due to Isaiah, the use of the word so translated in the Johannine tradition, which Mark conflates with Luke, suggesting presumably the assimilation of the narrative to the prophecy, the two meanings of 'blows' being both made explicit. The difficult statement that the officers 'received' him is thus seen to be in answer to the statement that He 'gave' His back. The fact that in Luke the mocking precedes the trial but in Mark follows it is due to the latter's identification of the examination of Jesus by Annas in John with the trial recorded in Luke. The manuscript authority for the omission of 'and to cover' from Mark and the transference of 'his face' to 'spit on' is not very strong, and is easily explained as due to assimilation to Matthew and the prophecy of Isaiah. It is not really true that Luke's closing sentence has no parallel in Mark. 'And many other things spake they against him' reappears as 'For many bare false witness against him,' and 'reviling [blaspheming] him' as 'Ye have heard the blasphemy,' Mark at this point being an extraordinary compilation of fragments from Luke and John and rabbinic tradition,

with little regard for the original connotation of the different elements. The evidence of the parallel columns makes Dr. Taylor's explanation, and even Dr. Streeter's, quite impossible, but it provides us with another which is entirely adequate.

CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT ON MARK

NOT infrequently the text of Mark is an expansion of what we find in Luke, with the aid of the Old Testament. A few examples will suffice. Luke says : ' A man planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen ' (xx. 9). In Isaiah we read : ' My beloved had a vineyard on a hill in a fruitful place. And I set a hedge about it . . . and I planted a choice vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and digged a pit for the winepress in it ' (v. 1-2). Mark says : ' A man planted a vineyard, and set a hedge about it, and digged a pit for the winepress, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen ' (xii. 1). Is it possible to explain Mark as other than a compilation from Luke and Isaiah, much of the Greek being identical in Mark and the latter ? Are we to suppose that Luke is based on Mark, but that the editor was careful to omit all phraseology

which had a parallel in the Septuagint? Dr. Taylor suggests that 'St. Luke knew the parable in another form'¹; but this is no explanation, and ignores the composite character of Mark.

Another example we have already noticed in the words used in Mark of the cup at the institution of the eucharist, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood,' being modified under the influence of 'Behold the blood of the covenant' (Ex. xxiv. 8), and becoming 'This is my blood of the covenant.'

Before the high priest, according to Luke, our Lord said, 'But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God' (xxii. 69). In Daniel we read, 'I beheld in the night vision, and lo one as a son of man came upon the clouds of heaven' (vii. 13). Mark says, 'And ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven' (xiv. 62). It is inconceivable that Mark should be explained as other than a combination of what we read in Luke and Daniel. If Luke be regarded as based on Mark, we have to find a reason why the omissions coincide with what we read in Daniel. Dr. Taylor sees various reasons 'for

¹ p. 98.

38 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

denying that Mark is St. Luke's source in the Trial narrative,' which he ascribes to Proto-Luke, though he says, 'At first sight Luke xxii. 69 does seem to depend on Mark xiv. 62.' He adds: 'The Lukan passage is much less objective than its Markan counterpart. Instead of saying that priests and scribes will see the Son of man seated on high and coming with the clouds of heaven, St. Luke simply states the fact of the session on high; he has nothing corresponding to "and coming with the clouds of heaven."'¹ It is extraordinary that he should be so blind to the true connexion between the two versions of the saying, and the composite character of Mark.

Among various other similar instances which may be adduced we have noted already in another connexion the addition of the words, "even he that eateth with me" (xiv. 18; Ps. xl. (xli.) 9), in Mark's account of the last supper, as also the amplification of the quotation in the rebuke of the traders at the cleansing of the temple by the words "for all the nations" (xi. 17; Is. lvi. 7), which illustrates the same tendency.

¹ pp. 50-1.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITIONS

WE have noticed various ways in which the text of Mark is to be explained as a development of Luke. Sometimes the development is very strikingly continued in Matthew, and very many examples might be quoted. The eschatological discourse in its various forms is particularly rich in instances of the kind. In the section which tells how the disciples will be brought before kings and governors for His name's sake our Lord adds, according to Luke, 'It shall turn unto you for a testimony' (xxi. 13). In a similar passage found in another context in Matthew we read: 'For a testimony to them and to the Gentiles' (x. 18). In Mark we read: 'For a testimony unto them. And the gospel must first be preached unto all the Gentiles' (xiii. 9-10). In Matthew in the corresponding context we read: 'And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the Gentiles' (xxiv. 14).

The development of thought is very remarkable. In Luke the idea is that the appearance of the disciples before kings and governors will be a means by which they will bear witness to the gospel. In Matthew x. the scope of the witness is enlarged, and it is not merely to governors and kings but to the Gentiles generally. In Mark the idea is again expanded and we find mention of an actual preaching of the gospel, and that to all the Gentiles. In Matthew xxiv. the thought is carried still further. The gospel is the gospel of the kingdom, and it will be preached in the whole world. It is very difficult to suppose that either the text or thought of Luke is derived from Mark, and with this Dr. Taylor agrees. Speaking of the whole context, he says he does not think that 'we can account satisfactorily for the Lukan passage by the commonly accepted theory, that it is just the Third Evangelist's version of Mark xiii. 9-13,'¹ and so he ascribes it to Proto-Luke. This, however, provides no explanation of the development of text and idea which we have traced in the four versions of the tradition. Dr. Streeter regards Matthew x. 18 as dependent on Mark xiii. 9-10,² though the context is

¹ p. 106.² p. 263.

quite different. More probably, if we may judge from various points in the text, the reverse is true, and Matthew x. 17-22 is an earlier version of Mark xiii. 9-13, the verse which is naturally to be regarded as dependent on Mark xiii. 9-10 being Matthew xxiv. 14. Dr. Streeter, like Dr. Taylor, has failed to recognise the proper sequence of development of text, striking as it is.

Another notable example is to be found in the latter part of the same discourse. Luke gives only 'Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days!' (xxi. 23). Mark adds, 'And pray ye that it be not in the winter' (xiii. 18); and Matthew, 'neither on a sabbath' (xxiv. 20), as well. If with Dr. Streeter we regard Luke and Matthew as based on Mark, we have to explain why Luke omits a clause while Matthew adds one very similar. He says: 'Matthew introduces, doubtless from his Jerusalem source, sayings of a distinctly Judaistic and legalistic character. At times he even modifies the actual text of Mark in this direction—adding, for example, . . . the words "neither on a Sabbath" in the little Apocalypse.'¹ Yet really 'neither on a sabbath' is no more Judaistic than 'And

¹ p. 425.

pray ye that it be not in the winter.' In neither case is there any reason to postulate the existence of a 'Jerusalem source.' Mark's addition, like many others in the Second Gospel, is certainly Judaistic, but it is based on a statement preserved in the Midrash with regard to the former destruction of Jerusalem. Rabbi Tanchuma said: 'God vouchsafed a great favour to Israel; for they ought to have gone out of the land on the tenth day of the month Tebeth, as he saith, Son of man, write thee the name of the day, even of this selfsame day: the king of Babylon drew close unto Jerusalem this selfsame day (Ezek. xxiv. 2). What then did the Lord, Holy and Blessed? If they shall now go out in the winter, saith he, they will all die: therefore he prolonged the time to them, and carried them away in summer.'¹ Matthew's addition was suggested apparently by a disaster in the days of the Maccabees, but though Judaistic it affords no evidence of a 'Jerusalem source.' 'Then many that sought after justice and judgment went down into the wilderness, to dwell there. . . . And many pursued after them, and having overtaken them, they encamped against them, and set the battle in array against

¹ fol. 57b. J. Lightfoot, *Horae Hebr. et Talm.* (1859), ii. 314.

them on the sabbath day . . . and they died, they and their wives and their children, and their cattle' (1 Mac. ii. 29, 32, 38). Dr. Taylor thinks that Luke xxi. 23a is 'capable of being regarded as a Markan addition'¹ to Proto-Luke, simply because, if omitted, there would be an 'excellent connexion' between the words which precede and follow. This, however, leaves the development of text and the Judaistic additions in Mark and Matthew quite unexplained.

In the account of the trial before the high priest according to Luke the chief priests and scribes say to Jesus, 'If thou art the Christ, tell us,' while afterwards we read: 'And they all said, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am' (xxii. 67, 70). In Mark we read: 'Again the high priest asked him, and saith unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? And Jesus said, I am' (xiv. 61-62). In Matthew we read: 'And the high priest said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said' (xxvi. 63-64). Dr. Taylor, as we have seen, thinks there are good reasons 'for denying that

¹ p. 111.

44 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

Mark is St. Luke's source in the Trial narrative,¹ and ascribes Luke's account to Proto-Luke. Yet it cannot well be denied that the one question in Mark is a conflation of the two questions in Luke, the answer in Mark likewise agreeing with the second answer in Luke. Dr. Easton says: 'The tradition of Christ's words in L [Proto-Luke] appears to be excellent. . . . Indeed, Mark's narrative can be most readily understood as a version of L's.'² Yet this explanation does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Taylor, who says merely that 'the Lukan story has a unity of its own.'³ Matthew's account is plainly an edited version of Mark's, the expressions 'the living God' and 'Thou hast said' being characteristic additions of the First Gospel (cf. xvi. 16, xxvi. 25). The three stages of development are quite obvious. We note also the conflation of Mark with the earlier narrative of Luke, and the consequent agreement on several points of Luke and Matthew against Mark, 'tell us,' 'whether,' 'Son of God.' Yet apparently neither Dr. Streeter nor Dr. Taylor has thought of suggesting that Proto-Luke is a source of Matthew. Neither the

¹ p. 51.

² *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, p. 339.

³ p. 51.

hypothesis of Proto-Luke nor that of the priority of Mark affords an explanation of the parallel texts of the Synoptic Gospels.

A remarkable example of development of text is to be found in the incident of the offering of vinegar or wine to Jesus on the cross. Luke says, 'And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, offering him vinegar' (xxiii. 36). It is one of a series of fulfilments of prophecy, the others being the parting of the garments, the beholding of the people, and the mocking of the rulers (Ps. lxviii. (lxix.) 21, xxi. (xxii.) 7). In Mark we read: 'And they offered him wine mingled with myrrh: but he received it not' (xv. 23). The context is practically the same as that of the offering of vinegar in Luke, the accompanying incidents, the parting of the garments, the wagging of the head of the passers-by, and the mocking of the chief priests, corresponding to the details regarded as fulfilling prophecy in the Third Gospel. There can thus be no doubt that the offering of the vinegar in Luke and of the wine in Mark are versions of the same story. In the Talmud we read: 'To those that were to be executed they gave a grain of myrrh infused in wine to drink, that their understanding might be disturbed; as it is

said, Give strong drink to them that are ready to die, and wine to those that are of a sorrowful heart. And the tradition is, That some women of quality in Jerusalem allowed this freely of their own cost.'¹ Mark has clearly identified the offering of vinegar with the offering of drugged wine, and in the light of his knowledge of Jewish practice, as elsewhere, has modified the narrative accordingly. Matthew says: 'They gave him wine to drink mingled with gall: and when he had tasted it, he would not drink' (xxvii. 34). Here we notice further development under the influence of Psalm lxviii. (lxix.) 21: 'They gave me also gall for my food, and gave me vinegar to drink for my thirst': a verse which apparently suggested the record of the incident in Luke, though forgotten, it would seem, in the version of the story given in Mark. The wine is not refused as in Mark, but, in fulfilment of the prophecy, tasted. In John the offering of the vinegar is placed not at the beginning of the account of the crucifixion as in Luke, but immediately before our Lord's death. 'So they put a sponge full of the vinegar upon hyssop, and brought it to his mouth' (xix. 29). As the offering of vinegar is said to be 'that the

¹ Bab. *Sanh.*, fol. 43a ; Lightfoot, ii. 366.

scripture might be accomplished,' it cannot well be questioned that the reference is to the same event as that mentioned in Luke, where also the psalm is in view. The account is among the material taken over by Mark from the Johannine tradition. We read: 'And one ran, and filling a sponge full of vinegar, put it on a reed, and gave him to drink' (xv. 36). The phraseology puts the dependence on the psalm (lxviii. (lxix.) 21) beyond dispute. In Matthew it has become 'And straightway one of them ran, and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink' (xxvii. 48). Again we note the three stages of development, beginning this time with John. In both Mark and Matthew, therefore, we have two accounts of the same incident, differently interpreted, at the beginning and end of the story of the crucifixion, and in Matthew a double fulfilment of the prophecy of the psalter (lxviii. (lxix.) 21). According to Dr. Taylor, 'the statement that wine was offered to and rejected by Jesus' is 'among the features of the Markan story which have no parallel in Luke,'¹ while 'the statement that the soldiers mocked Jesus, offering Him vinegar,' is among 'the features

¹ p. 55.

48 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

which are peculiar to St. Luke's narrative of the Crucifixion.'¹ Mark's habit of modifying his source under the influence of rabbinic tradition is quite unrecognised, as also the use made of the Johannine tradition. The hypothesis of Proto-Luke is as valueless as that of the priority of Mark if we would understand the true significance of the parallel texts.

¹ p. 56.

CHAPTER VII

AGREEMENT OF MATTHEW AND LUKE AGAINST MARK

ONE of the chief points which Dr. Streeter, following Professors Burkitt and Turner, tries to make is that the number of apparent examples of agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark, which constitute perhaps the chief of the recognised difficulties in any form of the Mark-Q hypothesis, is largely illusory. We are told that as Matthew and Luke both compress the narrative of Mark, correcting also his grammar and crudity of style, it is not surprising that they sometimes agree in their alterations. Even some of the more striking points of agreement, we are told, are seen to be deceptive when more closely examined, being just such alterations of Mark as would naturally occur to independent editors. Others again, it is argued, are due to the overlapping of Mark and Q, and the conflation of the two texts in Matthew. The contention, however, upon

which he lays the chief emphasis is that so many of the agreements against Mark disappear if other texts than that, say, of the manuscript B be taken into consideration. In the first place we note that Dr. Streeter appears seriously to underestimate the number of instances of agreement against Mark, chiefly because he depends on the lists of Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Abbott, and apparently has made little or no investigation for himself. He seems to recognise less than two hundred and fifty, though at a moderate estimate the number is about three times that figure. His chief argument, which involves a search through all known texts of the gospels, to see if there is not at least one manuscript which gives a reading such that the agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark disappears, and consequently the use of an eclectic text based upon the eccentricities of all known manuscripts favourable to his contention, is not very convincing. Would Dr. Streeter for any other purpose seriously prefer a text constructed in such an impossible fashion? We notice, too, that when he is arguing in favour of a conflation of Mark and Q in Matthew he does not trouble to search an *Apparatus Criticus* to prove that the examples of agreement of

Matthew and Luke against Mark are really non-existent. As a matter of fact, even if we adopt the curious text which he suggests, the most favourable to his argument possible, only a comparatively small proportion of the total number disappears, while, if another manuscript than, say, B be chosen, little difference is made in the total number. To a person who has before him the text of the gospels according to any known manuscript arranged in parallel columns, with the points of agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark plainly marked, the argument that practically all of them can be explained away in this fashion as due to later assimilation of the texts of Matthew and Luke is not very convincing. Though doubtless a few of the points of agreement may be explained in this way, there is no reason to suppose that those in passages where Dr. Streeter would not postulate a conflation of Mark and Q are any the less reliable than those in passages where he does. This supposed conflation of Mark and Q in Matthew is really only a part of the conflation of Mark and Luke which is wellnigh universal where parallels in the three Synoptic Gospels exist.

Dr. Streeter sets out in parallel columns

the three versions of the parable of the mustard seed (Mark iv. 30-32, Matt. xiii. 31-32, Luke xiii. 18-19),¹ noting also that in Matthew and Luke it is followed by the parable of the leaven,² to illustrate the overlapping of Mark and Q. He draws attention to the points of agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark, seeing in them evidence of the existence in Mark and Q of parallel texts. Matthew and Luke have 'is like' where Mark has 'shall we liken.' Matthew and Luke have 'which a man taking' where Mark has only 'which' (nominative). Matthew has 'his field,' and Luke 'his own garden,' but Mark 'the earth.' Matthew has 'it is grown' and Luke 'it grew,' but Mark 'cometh up.' Matthew and Luke have 'a tree,' but Mark 'great branches.' Matthew and Luke have 'in the branches,' but Mark 'under the shadow.' It is not perhaps always easy to say what ought to be counted as a separate point of agreement, but he might have noted that 'the kingdom' in Matthew and Luke is the subject, but in Mark the object of the sentence. Mark also uses 'as' where Matthew and Luke have 'like.' 'Sowed' in Matthew and 'cast' in Luke are active, but 'is sown' in Mark

¹ p. 247.² p. 243.

passive; Mark also, contrary to Matthew and Luke, putting his word into a new subordinate sentence. The agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark cannot possibly be denied, and literary dependence of some sort is clear. But why did Dr. Streeter limit his comparison of verses in this context to this short passage? If he had proceeded to make a like comparison for the section which follows immediately in Mark he would have found equally illuminating results. The account of the storm on the lake appears in Mark iv. 35-41, Matthew viii. 18, 23-27, and Luke viii. 22-25. Matthew and Luke agree on the initial conjunction 'now,' where Mark has 'and,' and in the tense of the verb, Mark having the historic present. Matthew and Luke say that Jesus 'entered' the boat, but Mark that 'they take him with them.' Matthew and Luke have 'into a boat,' but Mark 'in the boat.' Matthew and Luke alone mention 'his disciples,' and use a pronoun 'him,' 'himself,' at the point. Matthew has 'arose' and Luke 'came down' where Mark has 'arise,' the historic present. Matthew says the storm arose 'in the sea,' and Luke 'on the lake,' Mark having nothing to correspond. Matthew and Luke state that 'they

came to him,' Mark having no parallel. Matthew and Luke have 'awoke,' but Mark 'awake.' Matthew and Luke have the participle 'saying,' but Mark 'say unto him.' Matthew and Luke have 'we perish,' but Mark 'Carest thou not that we perish?' Matthew and Luke state that Jesus 'rebuked' the sea or the raging of the water, where Mark has 'and said unto the sea.' In Matthew and Luke the last sentence begins with a different word for 'and' from that used in Mark. Matthew and Luke say that the disciples 'marvelled,' but Mark that they 'feared exceedingly.' Matthew and Luke use the participle 'saying,' but Mark has 'said.' In Matthew and Luke we find 'winds,' but in Mark 'wind.' In Matthew and Luke 'obey' is plural, but in Mark singular. We might mention also that Matthew and Luke agree in omitting entirely seven important details given in Mark: 'when even was come,' 'leaving the multitude,' 'even as he was,' 'And other boats were with him,' 'in the stern,' 'on the cushion,' 'Peace, be still.' The points of agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark, we see, are no less numerous or striking than those in the passage utilised by Dr. Streeter which in Mark immediately precedes. Textual

criticism makes no difference to the existence of most of them, though it may throw doubt on a few. Nor is it easy to explain them, certainly not the omissions in common, as due to the assimilation of texts at a date earlier than all known manuscripts. That so many details of agreement have resulted from the labours of two independent editors seems very improbable. If, as Dr. Streeter says, there must be a literary connexion between Matthew and Luke in the parable of the mustard seed,¹ it must exist also in the accounts of the storm on the lake, and Luke's version, at any rate in part, must be dependent on Q. Yet Q is said to have consisted mainly of discourse, and neither Dr. Streeter nor, apparently, anyone else has called in the aid of Q to explain the varying accounts of the storm on the lake. Of this and other passages in the same context in Luke, Dr. Taylor says : ' In this Section . . . there is no evidence which points to a written source other than Mark.'² If one of the two contiguous passages in Mark, the description of the storm on the lake, is to be explained thus apart from Q, why should we postulate it for the other, the parable of the mustard seed, which merely exhibits

¹ p. 247.

² p. 87.

the same phenomena ? Dr. Streeter's hypothesis of parallel versions of the parable in Mark and Q is surely impossible.

We have examined the accounts of the tempest on the lake because in Mark the narrative follows immediately upon the parable of the mustard seed, but it is only one of very many passages which might have been chosen to illustrate our contention, agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark appearing in varying degrees in practically every section which has parallels in each of the Synoptic Gospels. To postulate the existence of a source Q is quite unnecessary, creates more difficulties than it solves, and, save in a very few sections, would not explain the facts. The literary connexion of Matthew and Luke is evident wherever the Synoptic Gospels have material in common, and can only be explained as a conflation of what we find in Mark and Luke.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUPPOSED SOURCE M

ANOTHER hypothesis which Dr. Streeter puts forward is the existence in Matthew of material from another source which he calls M, and in this way he explains the numerous Judaistic sayings in this gospel. His arguments, however, are particularly unconvincing, for small additions of a rabbinical or Judaistic type are found very widely scattered throughout the gospel, and it is difficult to differentiate these from the larger passages, for the explanation of which more especially he postulates M, nor are they different in kind from similar elaborations of what we find in Luke which appear in Mark, as, for example, the reply of the scribe who asked our Lord which was the first commandment (xii. 32-33). In certain passages Dr. Streeter supposes Matthew to be conflating Mark and M,¹ but if so the same must be true in others, and to explain all the

¹ pp. 259-60.

elements of a Judaistic nature the conflation must be much more extensive than he seems to imagine. The first passage in which he assumes Mark and M to overlap is the section on divorce (Mark x. 2-12, Matt. xix. 3-12), which, he declares, following Dr. Charles,¹ is more naturally told in Matthew, and in a way more closely related to Jewish usage, than in Mark. He says: 'The words "for every cause" in the question put by the Pharisees look more original, since they imply that the point submitted to the reputed Prophet in regard to the grounds of divorce was one actually debated at the time between the schools of Hillel and Shammai.'² That the words 'for every cause' have a reference to Jewish practice cannot be denied, for similar phrases are used by both Josephus³ and Philo⁴ in speaking of the grounds of divorce, though the fact suggests more probably that they are a later addition than an original element. The reason for their appearance in Matthew is to lead up to the clause 'except for fornication,' which Matthew adds in his version of our Lord's words, presumably to avoid

¹ *The Teaching of the New Testament on Divorce*, pp. 85-90.

² p. 259.

³ *Ant.*, Lib. iv. cap. viii. § 23.

⁴ *De Spec. Leg.*, iii. 5.

a contradiction between a precept of Jesus and the action of Joseph, recorded in the First Gospel only, in desiring to put away Mary for supposed fornication (i. 18-19). No one on critical grounds could well argue that Matthew's exceptive clause is an original element in our Lord's saying, and, if not, the words 'for every cause' are pointless and must likewise be an interpolation. The explanation of the arrangement of the argument in Matthew which Dr. Charles thinks more original than that in Mark would seem to be that it has been assimilated to that of the saying about divorce, largely identical, which appears in the sermon on the mount (v. 31-32). Mark here, as elsewhere if our argument is correct, is a conflation of two traditions, each including sayings about divorce, of which only one is preserved in Luke, practically the same saying appearing a second time in Matthew in another setting to suit the context in the sermon on the mount. The change in the text of this saying as found in Mark, so as to include a reference to a wife divorcing her husband as in the cases of Herodias and Salome, is quite in accordance with the habit of the Second Evangelist, who elsewhere, as we have seen, modifies the tradition by means of

information drawn from other sources. The saying in Luke is in a context which both Dr. Streeter and Dr. Taylor ascribe to Q. Dr. Streeter says : ' The three sayings, Luke xvi. 16-18, are perhaps from Q. Q, so far as we can make out, was a collection of the " Wise Sayings " of Christ, comparable to a book like Proverbs or the *Pirge Aboth*, with very little attempt at arrangement. And what we have in the passage of Luke is three separate aphorisms (the Law and the Prophets until John, the passing of the Law, Divorce), the only connexion between which is that they are epigrammatic rulings on disputed points connected with the Law. In Matthew they appear in a somewhat modified form and in three quite different contexts, worked into connected discourses.' ¹ Dr. Taylor says : ' The position of the three sayings from Q in xvi. 16-18 almost defies explanation. They neither illuminate their context, nor are they explained by it, and any attempt at exposition can only be tentative in the extreme. . . . These sayings are preceded by the rebuke of the Pharisees : " Ye are they that justify yourselves in the sight of men ; but God knoweth your hearts : for that which is exalted among men is an

¹ pp. 286-7.

abomination in the sight of God " (xvi. 15). It may be the fact that the Pharisees were pre-eminently those who exalted the law, which accounts for the introduction of the first saying. "The law and the prophets," says Jesus, "were until John." Since John, however, a new and a living way is open in the good news of the kingdom, which men are taking as if by storm. The saying which follows, on the Permanence of the Precepts of the law, probably stood in Q immediately after the one just treated, and the two are carried over by the Evangelist together; both refer to the law and the prophets, but otherwise they have nothing in common. The third saying, On Divorce, is adopted in the same way. In Q it probably stood as a particular illustration of the permanence of the law asserted in the previous saying.¹ It is curious that both scholars should so completely fail to grasp the unity and significance of the passage in Luke. It refers entirely to divorce and has in view Deut. xxiv. 3-6 (1-4). 'And if any-one take a wife, and dwell with her, then it shall be, if she find not favour before him, because he hath found some unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a bill of

¹ pp. 156-7.

divorcement, and give it into her hands, and send her away out of his house. And when she is departed, she may be another man's wife. And if the last husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and give it into her hands, and send her away out of his house, or if the last husband die, which took her to himself to wife, the former husband, which sent her away, shall not be able to return and take her to himself to wife, after that she is defiled, because it is an abomination before the Lord thy God.' The second marriage while her first husband lives is a defilement, and so an abomination before God. The saying that one tittle of the law shall not fail is an assertion that even details of the law which are apt to be overlooked, like the statement that marriage with a divorced woman is an abomination, are not without significance and will not pass away. Certain of the Pharisees evidently held marriage after divorce in high esteem. Jesus quotes with approval the detail of the law which declares it in all cases an abomination in the sight of God. We see then the true basis of our Lord's precept about divorce. It is not a new teaching in contrast with that of Moses according to the two passages in Matthew, but a re-enactment with

new emphasis of a forgotten element in that law. The form of our Lord's saying given in Matthew is thus a Judaised version of what is found in Mark, which is a conflation with modifications of separate traditions of sayings concerning divorce, one being recorded in Luke, this being based on a clause in Deuteronomy. We thus trace the stages of the development which reaches its climax in Matthew, and find a quite adequate explanation of his Judaistic alterations without calling in the aid of an imaginary source M.

Another example of the overlapping of Mark and M Dr. Streeter finds in the account of the healing of the man with the withered hand. 'In the story of Matt. xii. 9-13 . . . Matthew adds to Mark the detail "a sheep in a pit." If we compare with this the addition "ox in a pit" in the similar story in Luke (xiv. 1-6), we shall be inclined to attribute it to conflation with another version rather than to editorial expansion.'¹ Dr. Streeter refers to the account of the healing of the man with the dropsy, but it is astonishing that he has failed to see that Matthew's version of the story of the healing of the man with the withered hand is a conflation of Mark's version of the same story (with

¹ pp. 259-60.

reminiscences also of Luke's) with a modified form of this very account of the healing of the man with the dropsy (with the reference to the 'ox in a pit') given in Luke. Other additions or alterations suggested by this narrative are 'And, behold, a man,' 'Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath day?' There is no room for a source M.

The third example of the overlapping of Mark and M Dr. Streeter finds in the account of the healing of the daughter of the woman of Canaan. 'The account of the Syrophœnician woman, as given by Matthew, is made, by an addition of the two and a half verses (Matt. xv. 22*b*–24) (which suggest very great reluctance on the part of our Lord to heal a Gentile), very much more Judaistic than the version given by Mark (vii. 24–30).'¹ The fact is undeniable, but it is extraordinary that he should assume conflation with another source M to explain it. The alterations of the narrative of Mark which are found in Matthew are particularly interesting examples of the First Evangelist's method. We notice a change in the application of words. In Mark Jesus 'went out from the borders of Tyre' (vii. 31), but in Matthew the woman 'came out from those borders,' the same

¹ p. 260.

verb being used. In Mark the woman 'besought him,' but in Matthew the disciples 'besought him.' We notice also the appearance of phraseology which we find elsewhere in Matthew: 'And cried, saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou son of David,' 'Crying out, and saying, Have mercy on us, thou son of David' (ix. 27), 'Cried out, saying, Lord, have mercy on us, thou son of David' (xx. 30), 'They cried out the more, saying, Lord, have mercy on us, thou son of David' (xx. 31); also 'Thou son of David,' 'Jesus Christ, the son of David' (i. 1), 'Joseph, thou son of David' (i. 20), 'Is this the son of David?' (xii. 23), 'Hosanna to the son of David' (xxi. 9, 15) (cf. xxii. 42; Luke xviii. 38, 39, xx. 41; Mark x. 47, 48, xii. 35); 'But he answered her not a word,' 'And no one was able to answer him a word' (xxii. 46); cf. 'And he answered him to never a word' (xxvii. 14); 'And his disciples came and . . . , 'And the disciples came and . . . ' (xiii. 10, cf. xv. 12; xvii. 19), 'And his disciples came, and . . . ' (xiv. 12, cf. Mark vi. 35); 'And his disciples came . . . saying, Send her away,' 'The disciples came to him, saying . . . Send the multitudes away' (xiv. 15, cf. Luke ix. 12; Mark vi. 35-36);

66 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

‘ Answered and said ’ (common in Luke, twenty-eight times, less common in Mark, five times, but very frequent in Matthew, forty-three times, five of these appearing also in Luke, but only one in Mark ; three times in the present narrative, but not once in the parallel version in Mark) ; ‘ I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel,’ ‘ Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel ’ (x. 6) ; ‘ But she came and worshipped him,’ ‘ And are come to worship him ’ (ii. 2), ‘ That I also may come and worship him ’ (ii. 8), ‘ There came to him a leper and worshipped him ’ (viii. 2), ‘ There came a ruler, and worshipped him ’ (ix. 18), ‘ Then came to him the mother of the sons of Zebedee with her sons, worshipping him ’ (xx. 20), ‘ And they came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him ’ (xxviii. 9) (not once in either Luke or Mark) ; ‘ Be it done unto thee even as thou wilt,’ ‘ Thy will be done ’ (vi. 10 ; xxvi. 42 ; cf. Luke xxii. 42) ; ‘ And her daughter was healed from that hour,’ ‘ And the servant was healed in that hour ’ (viii. 13), ‘ And the woman was made whole from that hour ’ (ix. 22), ‘ And the boy was cured from that hour ’ (xvii. 18) (not in Luke or Mark). We note, too, the presence of various reminiscences of the Old

Testament : ' A Canaanitish woman,' ' The daughter of Sava the Canaanitess ' (1 Chron. ii. 3), ' Thou shalt not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the Canaanites ' (Gen. xxiv. 37), ' A daughter of a Canaanitish man whose name was Sava ' (Gen. xxxviii. 2), ' There shall be no more a Canaanite in the house of the Lord Almighty ' (Zech. xiv. 21), and, of course, many other passages; ' Have mercy on me, O Lord ' (cf. Ps. vi. 2; ix. 13; xxx. (xxxi.) 9, and other passages); ' Thou son of David,' ' Of the sons of David ' (1 Esd. viii. 29, 2 (Ezr.) viii. 2), the Messianic title being based on various Old Testament passages, cf. ' Their king the son of David ' (Ps. Sol. xvii. 23), and many examples in the Talmud; ' The lost sheep of the house of Israel,' ' My people hath been lost sheep . . . the house of Israel was ashamed ' (Jer. xxvii. (l.) 6; xxxi. (xlviii.) 13), ' I will feed my sheep . . . I will seek that which is lost . . . O house of Israel, saith the Lord God, ye are my sheep, even the sheep of my flock ' (Ezek. xxxiv. 15-16, 30-31), ' I have gone astray like a lost sheep ' (Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 176); ' House of Israel ' (very frequent in many books of the Old Testament); ' Lord, help me,' ' Help me, O Lord my God ' (Ps. cviii. (cix.)

26) ; ' Even the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table,' ' And they smote the Canaanite. . . . And Adonibezek said, Seventy kings . . . gathered their meat under my table ' (Jud. i. 5, 7), cf. ' Desiring to be fed with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table ; yea, even the dogs came ' (Luke xvi. 21), another passage probably not without influence.

In Matthew's version of the story of the healing of the daughter of the Syrophoenician woman we notice then examples of the change of application of phrases compared with what we find in Mark, the use of phraseology which is repeated elsewhere in the gospel, in some instances several times, the use of language reminiscent of passages in the Old Testament. These features, however, are not limited to the account of the Canaanitish woman, but are found in varying degrees throughout the gospel, and suggest not the use of a source but the work of an editor. Our investigation has proved simply that the version of the story found in Matthew is characteristically Matthaeian, and the Judaising that of an editor, not of a source. There is no evidence of the conflation of Mark with a hypothetical source M, or of the existence of such a document. The

differences between the accounts in Mark and Matthew are adequately explained as the result of a process of development, which may be recognised in every section of the latter when compared with the former, the influences at work in the passage under consideration being identical with those which can be seen to have operated throughout the rest of the gospel.

CHAPTER IX

THE THREE TRADITIONS HYPOTHESIS

OUR inquiry has brought to light very much evidence which not only seems to make the hypotheses of the existence of Proto-Luke and M impossible, but also any version of the Mark-Q hypothesis, and so, of course, that of the priority of Mark. At any rate these hypotheses cannot be regarded as proved so long as the masses of evidence against them are ignored and left unanswered. Only a very small portion of the evidence has been touched upon above, but enough to make it plain that unless an answer can be found some other solution of the problem of the gospels must be sought. Such a solution it may perhaps be useful in conclusion to set out, though only in outline and with no attempt at proof.¹ In the earliest days various oral traditions about the life and teaching of Jesus would be in

¹ See *The Three Traditions in the Gospels*.

existence. It was to give these a more permanent and reliable form that Luke wrote his gospel (i. 1-4), editing and arranging the material at his disposal. An examination of it suggests that it is a compilation from two chief lines of tradition. Sometimes in consequence we have two different accounts of the same event, but already we notice the conflation and assimilation of different traditions. Even after the earliest gospel had been written oral teaching would continue, though the existence of a written record would tend to invest the traditional stories with a certain fixity of form and phraseology. Yet we cannot imagine all Christian teachers dependent upon Luke's record of early teaching, and in all probability many would continue to repeat details eliminated by Luke, while there would be a constant tendency to modify and expand the tradition as occasion required. In Mark we notice considerable development in the text of various stories found also in Luke, and not only assimilation and conflation of the same two traditions, but also not infrequently the use of a third, while again we recognise what are evidently only somewhat divergent accounts of the same incident, belonging apparently to different traditions.

Matthew is based on Mark, or more probably on an earlier recension of that gospel than has been preserved, and is a later attempt to fix and combine the different lines of tradition utilised in part in Luke and Mark. That Mark was acquainted with the two chief traditions preserved in Luke, and also with a third, and Matthew with the gospel of Mark and one or more of the three main lines of evangelical tradition, cannot well be doubted; the evidence is overwhelming.

Things moved very rapidly in the early Church, and only a few years brought great changes. Dr. Streeter gives not very convincing reasons, based on the alleged Judaistic character of M compared with Q, why Matthew must be later than the destruction of Jerusalem,¹ but if neither Q nor M existed, any argument founded on their supposed combination in Matthew necessarily vanishes, while the contention, based on the reference to the temple in the eschatological discourse, that the temple was still in existence, appears to be as cogent for the date of Matthew as of Mark.² The First Epistle to the Thessalonians seems to contain undoubted references to the gospel tradition as it appears in Matthew (1 Thess. ii. 12, cf. Matt. xxii. 2-3;

¹ pp. 511-16.

² p. 493.

1 Thess. ii. 14-16, cf. Matt. xxiii. 31-32 ; 1 Thess. iv. 16-17, cf. Matt. xxiv. 30-31, xxv. 6). If so, the date of the gospel, or the tradition as recorded in it, must be earlier than that of the epistle, and not much later than 50 or 51. Mark must be earlier than this, and probably the addition of the reference to 'the abomination of desolation' to the eschatological discourse affords evidence of the date of the recension of the tradition recorded in it, a time when the temple was threatened with profanation similar to that of the days of Antiochus Epiphanes in the attempt of Caligula to set up his image in the temple, about the year 40. The contents of Luke, and also John (though not in its present annotated and augmented text, which belongs to the latter part of the first century ¹), would be earlier still, and must belong to a very early period in the history of the Church.

The conclusions of this essay differ widely from those of Dr. Streeter and Dr. Taylor, and indeed from those generally accepted. It is hoped, however, that enough has been said in this outline to shew that they are not put forward without reason, and that those

¹ See *St. John's Gospel, as First Edited*, by the present writer, in preparation.

74 ALLEGED GOSPEL SOURCES

who will take the trouble to follow the argument in detail will find that they provide a quite adequate explanation of the problems presented by the gospels, and do violence to none of the facts.



BS

875488

3555

-L78

Locketon

Certain alleged gospel
sources

DEC 29 30

P. Gordon 30 31

875488

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



56 505 247